1: Radcliffe-Brown
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AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[For a functional analysis of Andamanese ceremony, belief, and mythology, see category 116, pp. 229-406.]

sedentary existence based on primitive agriculture, and abandonment of a nomad life as gatherers of wild sago and other forest products ... Although agriculture is now important, there is no doubt that the Sulungs are at heart food-gatherers and hunters, who infinitely prefer a nomadic life in the forest to the more sedentary way of life they are now taking to .... There is a good case for assuming the Sulungs to have been entirely sago-gatherers when they first came under outside domination: borne out by their own traditions that they learnt cereal cultivation from the Daflas, by the identity of technique with that tribe, and above all by their being at the present day at a stage transitional between the practice of fixed cultivation and that of food-gathering".

STONOR thought that the Sulung "are probably the only people of Mongolian stock on the Asiatic mainland who still maintain an economy based largely on food-gathering and hunting", and that "they may well be the most primitive of Mongolian tribes surviving anywhere". This is, of course, an error. Apart from the Raji of Kumaon, who are in a transitional stage to a certain extent comparable to that of the Sulung, we know the mongoloid Phi Tong Luang or Yumbri of northern Siam, who are still pure primitive food-gatherers and hunters. It is precisely their wide distribution which gives these small scattered tribes particular importance, since it sheds some light on the racial history of southern Asia and on the early cultural stages of the great mongoloid race.

STONOR estimates the number of Sulung at perhaps six or seven thousand.

CHRISTOPH VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, *Culture Types in Assam Himalayas*, Indian Geographical Journal, Vol. XXI, No. 2, 1946.

C. R. STONOR, *The Sulung Tribe of the Assam Himalayas*, Anthropos, Vol. XLVII, 1952, pp. 947—962.

Andaman Islands

The ten tribes of the Great Andaman group are practically extinct as a result of their contact with civilization. At the time of Dr. B. S. GUHA's visit, in 1948, only 31 persons survived. We are fortunate in having two outstanding monographs on these tribes, EDWARD HORACE MAN's *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, first published in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute" in 1882, and later as a book, and A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge, 1922 (2nd edition 1933). Yet, it should not be forgotten that MAN, although an excellent and conscientious observer, was not a trained anthropologist, and that at the time RADCLIFFE-BROWN was in the Andamans, 1906 to 1908, the native population had shrunk to a fraction of its original size,

while its culture was already in the process of disintegration. Moreover, MAN dealt almost exclusively with the South Andaman tribes, mainly with the Aka-Bea, while RADCLIFFE-BROWN's researches were centered mainly on some of the northernmost tribes. As a result, not all the tribes were given equal attention. This is regrettable since their religious concepts and myths were by no means uniform. Therefore one cannot say that our information about the ten Great Andaman tribes is as full and up to modern standards as would be desirable. There is, of course, no more hope of ever filling the existing gaps in our knowledge. It is the more necessary that the still relatively intact groups of Andamanese be thoroughly studied before it is too late.

Ongi (Onge)

The Ongi of Little Andaman owe their survival to their isolation and to the fact that they remained hostile until the end of the 1880's and even thirty years ago were not yet considered as quite reliable. Nevertheless, their numbers are constantly decreasing as the following estimates in the various Census Reports seem to indicate

1901 . . . 672
1911 . . . 631
1921 . . . 346
1931 . . . 250

Of course, these figures, being mere estimates, are not reliable, and the last two are too low. As Professor LIDIO CIPRIANI of Florence, who spent many months with the Ongi in 1952, 1953, and 1954, kindly informed us, he came to different results. In his letter, dated May 2nd, 1958, he writes:

" I visited all communal huts with aim of taking a census of the Ongi. Every family has a bed in a communal hut, i. e. a kind of 'ritual' bed on which they marry and under which they are buried when they die. I prepared a list of persons using each bed. This added up to about 500 Ongi, but I saw less than 200 of them. The majority is still very shy and, when approached, ready to disappear into the jungle. The names of the absent persons were given to me by other Ongi. I left this list of personal names with the Department of Anthropology, Indian Museum, Calcutta, but kept a copy".

This would seem to indicate that the situation is not quite as bad as appears from the Census Reports. But even so, it is very serious and is constantly deteriorating. The Census Report of 1931 says that "the numbers decrease year by year mainly from infection such as influenza introduced at times of contact with civilization. Some septs have almost completely disappeared during the last years".

In a recent paper Dr. N. DATTA-MAJUMDER, Director, Department of Anthropology, Government of India, writes:

"From a study of 34 Onge families contacted by us, it is found that the average size of the family is only 3.15. Thirteen families out of 34 are childless. That is, 38.2% of the married couples are sterile".

When, in 1946, proposals were made for undertaking work for the amelioration of the conditions of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands along the same line as had been done among the Bhil and other tribes of Central India, Dr. B. S. GUHA, at that time Director of the Department of Anthropology, very reasonably observed that "the problem of the aborigines of the Andaman Islands is not the same as that of the other primitive tribes of India", and that "the need among them is not so much the spread of education and social uplift as the arrest in the decline in population which has been most alarming".

The Ongi have been in sporadic contact with the outside world for many years. They have been visiting Port Blair, particularly since some of them moved to Rutland Island on the southern tip of Great Andaman. This contact with civilization was bound to affect their material culture, as well as their whole mentality. We may again quote Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER who says:

"As a result of this long contact the Onge have already come to appreciate a number of foreign articles, for example, tobacco leaves, tea leaves, sugar, matches, aluminium utensils and implements made of iron (especially bill-hooks and files). In order to secure these articles, they often barter away their valuable honey and shells. The afore-mentioned changes in material culture have at present touched only the fringe of Onge culture. But the demand for these articles (especially tobacco leaves and safety matches) is becoming so great that Onge culture is likely to be vitally affected in the near future".

Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER came to the conclusion that "the hunting and food-gathering Onge culture, which had been an autonomous cultural system in the past, is now breaking down".

The Ongi were repeatedly visited by government officers, but the resulting information is paltry. PORTMAN spent several months among the coastal groups of Little Andaman in 1886 and 1887 and collected a few hundred words of their language. In 1901, C. BODEN KLOSS visited a group of Ongi on Rutland Island and one on Little Andaman, both only for a few hours. At some time between 1906 and 1908, A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN went to Little Andaman for several weeks and made a preliminary study of the Ongi language. In 1928, EGON VON EICKSTEDT spent a few weeks among the Ongi on Rutland Island and visited briefly several groups on the coast of Little Andaman for the sake of physical anthropological research.

114 Brief reconnaissance tours among the Ongi were made by Indian anthropologists in 1948 (Dr. B. S. GUHA and assistants), 1949 (Dr. A. K. MITRA and assistants) and 1955 (Dr. N. DATTA-MAJUMDER). Professor LIDIO CIPRIANI is the only scholar who engaged in prolonged research among the Ongi of Little Andaman, and this not only on the coast, but also in the interior of the island. In March, 1952, he crossed the island from the East to the West Coast. He was again among the Ongi from February to May, 1953, and from February to May, 1954. A brief report on his 1952 and 1953 expeditions was published in the Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta. He is planning to publish his results in a book. In 1953 and 1954, he was accompanied by a young Bengali, Mr. PRONAB GANGULI, who collected about 400 Ongi words.

[124] When all of Professor CIPRIANI's results are published we shall, no doubt, be well informed about the Ongi's physical anthropology, their material culture and such aspects of their customs as can be observed without a knowledge of their language and without an adequate interpreter. However, as he himself remarks in the letter mentioned above, "the barrier of language makes it difficult to analyze many Ongi facts". Therefore we cannot expect a deeper insight into the Ongi's social organization, religion, myths and customs.

[161] To sum up: We are confronted here with a group that is in danger of disappearing in the not very distant future. It may survive [182] for several decades in ever diminishing numbers, but its extermination may at any time be accelerated by epidemics. Moreover, its culture is already beginning to undergo substantial changes and may disintegrate very fast. If ever there was a case for urgent research, it is that of the Ongi. When, in the Census Report of 1931, BONINGTON observed with regard to them that here "a vast field of research awaits the anthropologist of the future", the Director General of the Census, J. H. HUTTON, significantly added in a footnote: "Provided, that is, that the Onge survives long enough".

The task is not only urgent, but unusually promising. An ambitious and well trained anthropologist who decides to spend the necessary time among the Ongi of Little Andaman will find an almost virgin field of research and one of the most archaic cultures still extant, a culture which, though already threatened. is at present still essentially intact. He can be sure that his researches, if properly done, will yield results of the first importance which, when published, may rank with EDWARD HORACE MAN's and RADCLIFFE-BROWN's classic works on the great Andaman tribes.

[124] Dr. CIPRIANI's experiences show that a prolonged sojourn on Little Andaman is perfectly feasible. The greatest obstacle to

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

INTRODUCTION

A group of north-south running islands as they are, the Andaman Islands have as many as 204 small islands where the impact of civilisation and growth has been little and the human history has been one of stagnation rather than of chequered career. Being a land of aborigines, the foreign intrusion has been quite feeble though mention about these islands is found in the early records of the travellers. Though the knowledge about the islands is derived from the notes which date back to 2nd Century A.D., the contacts with the foreigners have been all the time transient and extremely feeble. Before the formation of the penal settlement, the islands have been known as an island of horror because of the presence of such tribal people who would eat up the man they encounter and as regards the wealth there has been imaginary illusion, sometimes being called as the Island of Gold. The historical record of the islands which can be built with a fair degree of precision is since the formation of the penal settlement. There has been the search for resources as well as their exploitation. However, all the attempts for finding minerals and the geological explorations have shown the possibility of the existence of some poor quality coal, copper etc. Virtually there has been a conspicuous lack of efforts for the development of the islands. The penal settlement which grew up in Port Blair did not have any considerable influence on the overall development of the islands. Nevertheless with the more intimate knowledge about the islands, the forest exploitation had increased and the land around Port Blair was cleared for agriculture. The little amount of agriculture that was started and fostered by the local-borns in and around Port Blair never expanded considerably and it remained confined to a few areas of South Andaman only. The aborigines were very much widespread and in the beginning they had exercised hostility and arrogance which had in course of time given place to a very friendly and amicable terms with some of the tribal groups i.e. the Onges and the Andamanese. The Jarawas, however, still now maintain their hostility and the attempts for bringing them under amicable terms have so long proved futile.

Nothing more deserves a special note in the islands than the aboriginal population. Because of the insular nature of the islands, the aboriginal population is considered to be one of the purest type though the foreign intrusion has brought about an extremely rapid impoverishment and decay only during the last few decades of contact with these aborigines.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

161 Of the two main groups of aborigines, the Great Andaman Group and
177 the Little Andaman Group, the former being the most widespread and
182 numerous in the Great Andamans has become completely non-existent depicting the example of the decay within an extremely short time, especially since the impact of the foreign people. The fate of the later group is also quite shattering—the Jarawas have experienced both numerical decay and territorial shrinkage and the Onges are the only tribes who live exclusively in the Little Andaman but they have been also facing the signs of decay.

133 A glance at the map of the Andaman islands and adjacent countries shows the continuity of these islands with the Arakan Yoma of Burma in the north and with the Indonesian islands in the south. The islands of both the Andaman and Nicobar groups are primarily of sedimentary formations of the Eccene period with occasional igneous intrusions. Later formations of coral are also quite widespread. The surface topography of the regions is typically flat-topped being typical of the sandstone regions and the peaks are in most cases formed of igneous intrusions. The islands are comprised of a number of longitudinal ranges running from the north to the south and in between the ranges short streams flow. The heights of the hills are generally 1000′ and never exceed 2500′.

132 The islands experience a high annual temperature and the yearly rainfall is as high as 130 inches in Port Blair and the amount decreases as one moves to the north and the east. The ameliorating influence of the sea is quite appreciable.

131 With an area of 2508 square miles and the number of islands being as many as 204, only 4 main islands, North Andaman (490.20 sq miles), Middle Andaman (561.00 sq miles), South Andaman (359.51 sq miles) and Little Andaman (289.90 sq miles) have an area of more than 100 sq miles and the rest are sufficiently small in size either to command human settlement or economic activity.

101 The economy of the tribal people is of the primitive form of hunting and collecting though the precise modes of living vary to some extent depending upon the nature of environment under which they have to live. The knowledge of distribution and of actual number of these aborigines is far from accurate. The Andamanese were the most widespread in all parts of the Great Andamans and in the South Andaman they (Aka bea) had to remain vigilant against the possible attacks and territorial expansion of the Jarawas. The Andamanese, as said earlier, have completely died out. The Jarawas, though have dwindled to a negligible number,

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

105 177 439 of all these things, locally not available, was felt by the aborigines only due to their slight contact with the later settlers.

However, a broad two-fold division of the aboriginal population can be made.

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1. Aborigines of the Great Andaman Group — All the aborigines of the Great Andamans with the exception of the Jarawas, the most hostile aborigines living in the southwestern part of the Andamans.

2. Aborigines of the Little Andaman Group — the Onges of the Little Andaman, the Jarawas of the South Andaman & the Sentinelese of the North Sentinel island.

As to how these two groups came into being and their areas of distribution, various theories have been put forward. Long after the attainment of the individual traits of these two groups, a continuous northward movement of the aborigines from the Little Andaman was in vogue and one such party had arrived in the Great Andamans who have been lately known as the Jarawas, who were all along subjected to pressure of the local natives belonging to the Great Andaman Group, the *Aka bea* of South Andaman. The very development of the hostility of the Jarawas and their complete seclusion from the other aboriginal groups owe to their being continuously subjected to the adversities. B. V. Eickstedt[1] has been of the opinion that the aborigines of the Andamans entered into the Great Andamans in two groups—the earlier group comprises the Onge, Jarawas and the Sentinelese while to the later group belong the ancestors of the Great Andaman Group. The passage of the Great Andaman Group has led to a constant southward push of the earlier group which has ultimately led to their habitation in the islands of the south i.e., the Little Andaman, Rutland Island and a part of the South Andaman. Cipriani has been emphatic enough in justifying the views of Brown that the Jarawas reached the Great Andamans from the south. Though they are supposed to have come from the Great Andamans by canoes, the art of constructing canoes and of using them have been completely forgotten and Cipriani believes that such instances of the loss of knowledge of the construction of canoes and their uses are many. A list of the names of the camps, given by Cipriani in the 1951 census, dating back to antiquity and having a good supply of drinking water and of

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1 Eickstedt, B. V — Die Negrite der Andaman (Anthr Anz).

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

food lie in a chain running from north to south along the islands between Little and Great Andamans. This has been one of the most convincing proofs of the movement of the aborigines from the south to the north. Cipriani writes, 'All these organisations, with geographical names, camps, places for water and food, indicate an ancient navigating experience moving from the south to the north. About a century and half ago the Jarawas are said to have still been in possession of canoes and the same is said of the savage inhabitants of the North Sentinel Island less than 50 years ago. In a surprisingly short period the technique of making canoes seems to have been completely forgotten as a result of the difficulties of using them."

THE ABORIGINES OF THE GREAT ANDAMAN GROUP

Andamanese, as they are called, were the most widespread and the largest in number. They had split up ultimately into a few sub-groups from the north to the south. The different groups are *Aka-kora, Aka-boa, Aka-jeru and Aka-bea.* There has been a deplorable decline in the number of these aborigines who in the bygone ages exceeded all other groups in number. At present the number is only 23, a considerable reduction from the number 625 only in the beginning of the 20th century. Though the present importance of the Andamanese because of the extremely poor number is far from significant, they are of no small interest for the study of the anthropologist, especially the impact of these people with the later settlers.

The consequences of the impact of the outsiders on the Andamanese have been far from satisfactory. With the formation of the penal colony, the aborigines continued to develop feud and on the 14th of May, 1959 a clash between the aborigines and the Govt. occurred which is known as the Battle of Aberdeen. Aberdeen is at the heart of the town of Port Blair. Efforts of pacifying these aborigines were made and for bringing them into closer terms of amity, the 'Andamanese Home' was started in 1863 by Rev. H. Corbyn Chaplain. They were employed for working with the convicts taught to speak English and wear clothes. The consequence of such an impact has been alarmingly devastating because of the infiltration of a number of vices and diseases which only paved the way for their impoverishment and decay (For further particulars see demographic characteristics).

2 Cipriani, L— On the origin of the Andamanese, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Census of India, 1951.

10:Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

105 177 182 For the fact that the Andamanese inhabits the coastal areas of the Andamans, the fishing is an well-known art to them. The pristine culture is virtually lost and the few who are still now surviving have been brought under the folds of government help. Still now the headmen [225 481] of the Andamanese in the Middle Andaman, *Loka* is found doing turtle hunting in their canoes and climbing up the coconut trees without the help of any rope. Still now they are found dancing in groups but they are few and far between. All of them wear clothes and live in the huts made by the Forest Department.

THE ABORIGINES OF THE LITTLE ANDAMAN GROUP.

101 The Onges, the Jarawas and the Sentinelese belong to this group.

The Jarawas

177 648 [101] [181] Of all these three groups, the Jarawas only live in the Great Andamans and their occurrence in the Great Andamans has been explained by many authorities, as has been explained earlier. The Jarawas are implacably hostile and the best of efforts to bring them under terms of amity have proved furtile. Lt. Colebrook and Archibald Blair first came in contact with the Jarawas and in course of time, the Aka-beas, belonging to the Great Andaman Group, living in the South Andaman became friendly with the foreigners while the hostility of the Jarawas remained unabated. The Jarawa hostility has been always increasing and it was more so since 1921. In 1923, 37 Jarawas were shot and in 1938, a Jarawa woman and her 4 children were captured. So the chances of meeting the Jarawas have been few and far between and the great decline in their number has in all practical senses stopped the apprehension of their raids in the new settlement areas. Still now, of course a person penetrating deep into the forests of the eastern parts of South Andaman should always be on the guard against an attack from the Jarawas.

The Onges.

The Onges, having experienced the impact of the foreigners at the latest period, are at present the most widespread of all the aborigines of the Andamans. They do not have the truculence of the Jarawas and the attempts for bringing them under closer ties and terms of amity with the foreigners have proved successful, though the essential traits of their social, cultural and material life remain unaltered.